

# THE AMERICAN

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### THE AMERICAN.

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#### CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

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Free Coinage of Gold and Silver.

Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.

Opposition to Trusts.

Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule. *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.

#### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

**E**VEN the dog days of this year of excitement are not to be permitted to pass without their retinue of inane, idle stories, given to the public as news. It is from Spain that emanate a plenty of empty tales to keep up the reputation of the dog days. If we put faith in the tales we must conclude that the Spanish Government is going to fight the whole war over again on paper, in the salon of the Peace Commission at Paris. Questions settled by the sword and admittedly so settled by the signing of the peace protocol are not to be considered as closed and are to be reopened before the Peace Commission—if we let

Spain have her way. But here comes the rub for Spain. As the victor we are hardly likely to let Spain dictate to us in the negotiation of peace. This the Spanish Government must recognize, and so the rumors coming from Madrid, rumors of points the Spanish Government is bent on pressing before the Peace Commission we must regard as empty tales.

Some questions were closed when the peace protocol was signed. They can only be reopened by the sword. In the peace negotiations those questions are not to be considered save as closed. If the peace negotiations fall through, if there is resort to further arbitrament of the sword, the protocol will lapse and such questions will be reopened. But now they are closed. They were recognized as closed by Spain when, through the French ambassador at Washington, she agreed to the peace protocol. We demanded that she recognize such questions as closed as a condition precedent to the cessation of hostilities. If she does not now recognize them as closed, if her Peace Commissioners do not go into the Paris conference recognizing them as closed, they might as well say so and retire, for our commissioners cannot enter into negotiations with them until they do so recognize, and the war must be resumed and go on until Spain does recognize such conditions as closed, does recognize what it was understood she recognized in agreeing to the protocol, what we believe the Spanish Government does now recognize. Any assertions to the contrary that are laid at the door of the Spanish ministers, we can but regard as empty quibbles for the consumption of Spanish people, or as the concoctions, the fruits of mind wandering and day dreams of correspondents and reporters whose brains are upset by the ennui and oppressiveness of the dog days.

THOSE questions, settled by the sword, that we demanded should be recognized as settled before the suspension of hostilities, were the surrender of all sovereignty of Spain over Cuba, leaving the United States free to do with Cuba as she may choose and the direct cession to us of Puerto Rico and all other Spanish islands, other than Cuba, in the West Indies. The details of Spanish evacuation were alone left open and they were referred not to the Peace Commission but to military commissions. The only question left open to negotiation and referred to the Peace Commission for settlement was that of the disposition of the Philippines. Yet rumor has it that the Spanish Peace Commissioners will be instructed to raise sundry questions in regard to Cuba and Puerto Rico. So it is said that Spain will advance the claim that the surrender of sovereignty and cession of territory agreed to in the protocol does not carry with it the title to public property in the affected territory and that for such property, public buildings, etc., we should recompense Spain, that unless we buy such buildings they will remain her property.

Such an absurd contention that has no foundation in international law and for which no supporting precedent can be found in the pages of history can hardly be regarded as serious, but the absurdity becomes doubly great when we consider that this contention is put forth on top of the contention that we assume the



debt issued by Spain to pay for the creation of such property, such public buildings. Thus we have the contention that we should first assume the debt which paid for the creation of the public property and then make Spain an allowance for such property, in other words, pay Spain twice over for property, for public buildings that, by international law, come to us by right of conquest and cession. It is not to be supposed that such contention will be pressed much less considered.

THE question of the Philippines is the one open question for the Peace Commission. Indeed, the disposition of the Philippines is an open question with the American people. It also seems to be an open question with the administration, a question which Mr. McKinley has not determined to his own satisfaction and upon which he has come to no conclusion. It is indeed a serious question that is not to be determined lightly, a question difficult and hard to solve from its very nature, its complexity, and one that is doubly difficult from the fact that we have but scant information upon which to come to a conclusion.

There are three general ways in which we may dispose of the question. We may annex the islands, we may take them from Spain and build up a Philippine Republic under our tutelage and protection or we may withdraw our forces from the islands and let Spain do with them what she will or what she can. And between these ways for the disposition of the question there lie middle grounds without number.

The annexation of the islands and their occupation as American territory is urged upon two general grounds. First, it is urged on the ground that their possession would open the way to great trade expansion, not only in the Philippines but throughout the east, open the way to our self-enrichment by giving to our people the opportunity to exploit the wealth of the Philippine islands and despoil the inhabitants of their earnings. And this opportunity we are told that we should not let slip, that we should not pass by the chance to enrich ourselves by driving other peoples to toil for us as our slaves, that we should reap the fruits of conquest by despoiling those whom we conquer, as has been the custom of conquerors. In the second place, annexation is urged upon the high moral ground that we owe a duty to the people of the Philippines, that it is our duty to uplift a people that it has fallen into our power to uplift, and that to uplift the people of the Philippines, ensure to them happiness and a higher civilization, we must annex the Philippines that we may protect them from the outside and from themselves. In short, it is said the Philippines, freed from Spain and left to themselves, would be pounced upon, absorbed, despoiled by foreign powers; that if we established a mere protectorate over the islands and so secured them from absorption, the more powerful among the Filipinos would despoil their weaker fellows, and thus establishing from within, just as Spain has from without, a rule of might over right, destroy happiness and hinder, if not make impossible, a higher civilization. And hence it is urged that being in duty bound to uplift a people when we have the chance, we must annex the Philippines that we may protect the inhabitants thereof against despoilment from without and despoilment from within. The logical ending of this policy would be the absorption of the Philippines into the American Union as one or more sovereign states. And such a prospect, the incorporation of a teeming Oriental population into our economic and body politic, is one that we would fain not see.

BUT if uninfluenced by the base motive and unmoved by the moral ground we do not solve or seek to solve the Philippine question by annexation there remain two other alternatives. We may, easing our consciences by the thought that we are under no obligations to the Filipinos, that they have not shown themselves worthy of assistance, abandon them to their fate, or we may give to the islands their freedom from Spain, warn the

powers of Europe that we will tolerate no interference in the Philippines and encourage the inhabitants to build up a Philippine republic. And this latter would be by all odds the most satisfactory solution of the question. The only question is: Are the Filipinos capable of self government? And to this question dearth of information makes it impossible to give a satisfactory answer.

In the resulting uncertainty the true and safe course would seem to be for us to take and rule the islands until we can find out if they are capable of self government, and if we find that they are not, gradually train them up step by step to self government, and when their fitness to establish such government is shown give them their independence. Of course, pursuit of such a course might entail upon us great sacrifices, and greater sacrifices than we ought to make for the uplifting of another people, for we should not strive to uplift where the uplifting means the crushing down of our own people. Pursuit of this course would, of course, mean our temporary rule and a strong temptation to those guided by selfish interests, and perhaps sent to govern in the Philippines, to make that rule permanent and annex the islands to the United States to the end of despoiling the people. But if we would not abandon the Philippines to their fate, whatever that may be, if we would insure to them a just government, this temptation we must run and we must steel ourselves to resist it.

THIS solution of the question, our temporary rule in the Philippines until the inhabitants may show themselves capable of self government, is the solution urged in the resolutions adopted last Saturday by the national conference on the foreign relations of the United States, held at Saratoga. It would solve the Philippine and Cuban questions alike.

This conference resolved that:

"With our views of natural right and of the inestimable privileges of civil liberty, we should not be justified in returning the conquered islands to the misrule and oppression from which we have relieved them. As soon as the islands under our present protection can be trusted to govern themselves they should be allowed to do so, the United States retaining under its authority only necessary naval stations. Until such time as they may be able to govern themselves, they should continue under the protection of the United States, and the question as to whether, at some future period, and at the mutual desire of both, they should be permanently annexed, should be left to the time when it arises. The United States on behalf of each of the territories in question, and so long as they shall continue under our protection, should adopt proper measures for securing out of the revenues of these countries the establishment of free elementary, unsectarian schools, sufficient for the instruction of all persons of school age."

It is said by some that these resolutions are an endorsement of the policy of territorial expansion. But they are anything but an endorsement of the policy for the pursuit of which the most vehement of the expansionists are so insistent, namely territorial expansion to the end that we may despoil other peoples. And it is much to be feared that if we annex the Philippines it will be with this end. Therefore, the opposition to territorial expansion in their direction.

There are two kinds of territorial expansion; one urged with the end of uplifting the peoples over whom we may rule, the other with the end of despoiling them. And it is not this latter kind of territorial expansion that the Saratoga conference approved. This kind of expansion it condemned, as all men who do not believe in despoiling their fellow men must condemn. The kind of territorial expansion the conference endorsed is the first.

IT SEEMS, however, that President McKinley is disposed to take a middle course, to annex the island of Luzon and leave the rest of the Philippines to Spain. This would be annexing about one-third of the islands in territory and perhaps two-thirds of the wealth. What sort of a government Mr. McKinley would like



to see installed in the island if annexed is not apparent, nor is it clear what pledges of reform in the rule of the other islands the President is said to be resolved to demand of Spain as a condition precedent to the handing back of such islands, or rather as a condition precedent to letting her hold such islands, for we have not taken them from her, we have not installed our military authority in place of Spanish civil and clerical authority and Spain exercises authority in those islands as far as she ever did. The truth is that a good part of these islands is a wilderness untracked by Spanish soldier or priest or civil authority and inhabited by independent tribes little advanced in the scale of civilization.

And what is true of the greater number of the islands of the Philippines is true to a lesser degree in Luzon. In this island, however, there is a large population that has been brought under Spanish rule and the intimate influence of Spanish civilization and barbarism. This population living under Spanish rule, toiling for Spanish task-masters, despoiled for the enrichment of their despotic rulers, maltreated and oppressed by church and state alike is the population that has been and is in revolt against Spanish rule, the population that has risen in revolt at Aguinaldo's call and cooped the Spanish forces up in Manila where they have fallen a prey to our arms. Outside of Manila, in the island of Luzon, it is Aguinaldo who rules, not Spaniards or Americans. Their Spanish rulers the insurgents have driven out and American rule has not been established in their place. It is only in Manila and its suburbs that General Merritt exercises military authority. Outside of Manila, and in the island of Luzon, Aguinaldo and his followers rule; outside of Luzon, in the other islands of the Philippine group, Spaniards rule as they ruled before the war. What is more, it appears that General Merritt has recognized the rule of Aguinaldo outside of Manila. Such appear to be the conditions in the Philippines.

THEREFORE the middle course that Mr. McKinley seems to be disposed to follow in regard to the Philippines appears to be based on a general recognition of things as they are. To take Luzon from Spain and to leave her the other islands would be but to take what she has lost through the war at the hands of our armies and the insurgents, leave her in possession where her rule has been undisturbed. But though we only take Luzon, an island of an area almost equal to that of the state of Pennsylvania, we will have the same questions to solve as we would have if we took the whole group. The only difference would be that our sphere of action would be narrowed. First, we have to answer the broad question, shall we rule so as to uplift the people over whom we rule, so as to raise them up until they are fit for self government and we need rule over them no more or shall we rule so as to despoil them? If we answer in the latter way the annexation of the island will be a curse to us though it is not unlikely that the inhabitants would find despoilment at our hands less grievous than despoilment at Spanish. If we answer in the former, answer according to the dictates of honor and justice our rule, which may be but temporary, will be a blessing to the people of the island and lead to a rapid increase in its wealth and trade.

And in that case the island will become markedly prosperous as compared to the other islands remaining under Spanish rule, and so in those islands unrest will grow. Spanish rule will, by comparison, become more burdensome, even though, in fact, made less oppressive by the carrying out of certain reforms upon which we may insist, and the demand on the part of the people under Spanish rule to share the lot of their neighbors of Luzon will increase. So constant unrest may be anticipated in the Spanish islands, and that must bring to us responsibilities that we would not be called upon to meet if ruling over all the islands, for Spain, face to face with the unrest in her Philippine possessions that would make it impossible for her to profit from holding

them, would be inclined to part with them to some land-greedy power willing to pay for them.

The right to cede such islands without our consent we might force Spain to surrender by the treaty of peace; indeed, it is said that the President is inclined to insist upon the putting of such provision into the treaty if only Luzon is surrendered to us and the other islands left to Spain, but the temptation to Spain to sell and of land-greedy powers to buy in disregard of this provision would be strong, and, as a consequence, the difficulties of preserving the Philippines from the greediness of the powers and the dangers of our position would be greater if we owned only Luzon and Spaniards the rest of the Philippines than if we owned them all.

The great point to be kept in view in the discussion of the Philippines is however that if we take for our guiding star the uplifting of the people of those islands, we will not have cause to regret it, that if we treat the islands with a view to their despoilment their possession will become to us a curse. Better let Spain have the islands than take them with this view.

MONTAUK POINT is only a little more than a hundred miles from New York and readily accessible by rail and water. The supplying of a camp at such a point with plenty of fresh nourishing food should be no very difficult matter. When the transportation facilities are adequate all that is needed to keep an army supplied with good wholesome food is money and system. So when Shafter's army was ordered from Santiago, where it was perishing, to Montauk Point, where it might be decently fed and sheltered and cared for and so recuperate, the country breathed a sigh of relief. But the soldiers of this gallant army removed to Montauk Point are being given what to recuperate upon? What but the army rations that were supplied to them in Cuba, what but the very rations that the army carried to Cuba and from Cuba to Montauk Point, what but bacon that got tainted in the warm climes of Cuba and hard tack that is mouldy.

This is the food that the army is being given to recuperate upon, and why? Because the army regulations are that rations given out must be consumed before more can be requisitioned for. But army rations, even though good, are not the food to be given to the army at Montauk Point. That army that is invalidated, and that is where it is for that reason should be furnished with fresh wholesome food, fresh meat, not bacon; soft bread not hard tack. But red tape, lack of system in the War Department prevents, and so on mouldy hard tack and tainted bacon the soldiers uncomplainingly try to get well and into condition for further service. It is a crying national shame. Not for the want of money at the disposal of the War Department, not because of any want of a readiness of the country to make sacrifices to give its soldiers their deserts, but because of lack of system, (or is it too much system?) the soldiers suffer.

THE volunteers at Montauk Point are not as badly off as the regulars for their relatives and friends have come to their rescue, showered their camps with baskets and bundles of delicacies. But the regular troops have not had such bounty. They have been dependent on the government, on the food the government supplies, until at last the Red Cross Society, spreading out beyond the hospital work, prepares to do that which it is the government's duty to do, ministers to those to whom the government fails to minister. The government abandons its troops to a diet of mouldy hard tack and unwholesome bacon, the Red Cross prepares to save them. Well may we blush in shame and flush in anger by turns.

And in supplying hospital accommodation and food for the sick the government was equally backward. There were days to get ready and no excuse for not having sufficient cots and shelter and milk for the sick. If the War Department had hired



several of the seaside hotels in place of planning hospital tents that were in a state of incompleteness when sick soldiers arrived to be cared for, it might have been less military, might have cost more money but soldiers who have died might have been saved and the country would have been pleased.

THE incompetency of the War Department that is in evidence at Montauk was in evidence at Santiago, it is in evidence at nearly all the camps. And that incompetency we must charge primarily to the head. But we have no desire to see General Alger made a scapegoat of and all the blame for the shortcomings of the War Department put upon his shoulders. We want to see each man called up for his own shortcomings, the weakness in each link exposed. To make General Alger the scapegoat and dismiss him from the service in disgrace would only serve to assuage our outraged feelings. What is needed is a general investigation, a general remodelling of the system that has broken down under stress, a sweeping aside of red tape and the cleansing of the War Department of its incompetents and political appointments from General Alger down.

It is pleasing to turn from the shortcomings of our War Department to the tribute of a Spanish soldier rendered on behalf of 11,000 of his comrades, to the heroism, generosity and humanity of the American soldier. Pedro Lopez de Castillo, honored by his name, private of infantry, Santiago, sent to General Shafter, on August 21st, and through him to the American soldiers who took part in the capture of Santiago, an address of thanks to the American army on behalf of the 11,000 vanquished Spanish soldiers in Santiago and in acknowledgment of a debt of gratitude felt toward their conquerors. It adds one more unique chapter to a war already replete with incidents unparalleled in the annals of warfare. The admiration of the Spanish soldier for the American is as deep as is his hatred of the Cuban.

"We would not be fulfilling our duty as well born men, in whose breasts there live gratitude and courtesy," runs the Spanish address to the soldiers of the American army; "should we embark for our beloved Spain without sending you our most cordial and sincere good wishes and farewell. . . . You fought and acted in compliance with the same call of duty as we, for we all but represent the power of our respective states. You fought us as men face to face, and with great courage—a quality which we had not met with during the three years we have carried on this war against a people without religion, without morals, without conscience and of doubtful origin—who could not confront the enemy but, hidden, shot their noble victims from ambush, and then immediately fled. This was the kind of warfare we had to sustain in this unfortunate land.

"You have complied exactly with all the laws and usages of war as recognized by the armies of the most civilized nations of the world; have given honorable burial to the dead of the vanquished; have cured their wounded with great humanity; have respected and cared for your prisoners and their comfort; and, lastly, to us, whose condition was terrible, you have given freely of food, of your stock of medicines, and you have honored us with distinction and courtesy; for after the fighting the two armies mingled with the utmost harmony.

"With this high sentiment of appreciation from us all there remains but to express our farewell, and with the greatest sincerity we wish you all happiness and health in this land, which will no longer belong to our dear Spain, but will be yours, who have conquered it by force and watered it with your blood, as your conscience called for, under the demand of civilization and humanity."

ON Tuesday the Navy Department opened bids for sixteen torpedo boat destroyers and twelve torpedo boats. This is the torpedo boat flotilla authorized by Congress at its last session and after the outbreak of the war with Spain. Under the programme of the last naval bill there still remain three battleships and three new class monitors to be contracted for. Besides these battleships authorized there are five battleships under construction at this time. The completion of this programme will place

us fourth among naval powers and it is expected Congress will authorize a still larger programme for naval construction at the coming session. Four years ago we had not one of the larger class of battleships in service. It is only five years since the first armored cruiser, the New York, was put in service. To-day we have five battleships, about one-eighth the fighting force of the French navy; in eighteen months' time we will have ten and eighteen months thereafter three more or thirteen with those that Congress will undoubtedly authorize at the coming session well on towards completion. And thirteen battleships in American hands will be the equal of how many in French?

THE Congressional campaigns of this year are late in getting under way. Indeed the issues upon which the campaign will be fought are hardly determined. On the new issues raised by the war there has been no general lining up of Republicans and Democrats. On the question of territorial expansion the Republicans are generally chary of committing themselves, for the position of the administration is yet to be defined, and while the general tendency of the Republicans is toward a policy of expansion the Democrats have hesitated to take the opposite course despite the early and determined stand taken by such leaders in the party as Bryan and Bailey and Bland. Indeed some Democrats who are followers of Mr. Bryan and much fear that he has taken the unpopular side are feeling called upon to explain that he did not mean what he said at Omaha, against expansion, just after he had enlisted for the war and since when he has maintained a discreet silence behind the shelter of the military cloak. But with Democrats in this position, Republicans hesitating to boldly avow themselves in favor of territorial expansion, the campaigns this fall cannot be contested over this question, for it is not a sharply marked issue between the parties.

Of course in the contests in some districts, where an ardent expansionist may be opposed to a boldly avowed anti-expansionist, this issue may be prominently raised. But the general lines for the campaign must be drawn on other issues. The Democrats have chosen to make the chief issue upon the financial management of the war, attacking the Republicans for the imposition of a war tax that weighs more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich, and contending that greenbacks should have been issued in place of bonds. But the party that proposed the tea tax, which is one of the most unjust taxes in the war bill, one of the best calculated taxes in the bill to tax the poor man more than the rich, cannot attack the war tax bill as a measure weighing more heavily upon the poor than the rich with any very good grace.

And then the Republican Congressional Committee has very adroitly prepared to meet Democratic thunder with Democratic thunder, by letting Democrat answer Democrat. Indeed, the arraignment of the Democratic party that the Republicans are preparing to send out is the work of Democrats. Thus, instead of replying to Democratic criticisms of the bond bill by sending out Republican literature the Republicans are preparing to send out the speeches of Senators Gorman, of Maryland, and Lindsay, of Kentucky, and Representative Cummings, of New York, all of which are severe arraignments of the position taken by the majority members of the Democratic party. And the Republicans find an arraignment of the Democratic party on the Hawaiian question ready at hand in a scathing speech of Senator Morgan, of Alabama. As for the tariff, it is, as an issue, dead.

THE joint commission for the settlement of our differences with Canada that the Senate nearly killed by striking an appropriation to meet the expenses of the American commissioners out of the Diplomatic Appropriation bill, but which was saved by the House conferees in conference committee insisting upon replacing that appropriation in the bill, has assembled in Quebec under very encouraging circumstances.



One of the disputes of long standing is that over the Newfoundland fisheries question and a path to the settlement of this by compromise the war seems to have opened. Newfoundland and Canadian fishermen have found for many years a very considerable market for their fish in Puerto Rico. If that island is annexed to the United States, as it doubtless will be, and our tariff laws extended to it with their duties on fish, the market that Canadian fishermen now have in Puerto Rico will inevitably fall to Americans. To keep this market the Canadians seem to think they could well afford to extend privileges to American fishermen in Canadian waters, let the Americans fish within the three mile limit if in return the Americans will let Canadian cured fish into Puerto Rico on the same terms as American. But it is not certain that this path to the settlement of the fisheries dispute will be acceptable to our commissioners. If it is worth so much to the Canadians to keep the market in Puerto Rico for their fish it must be that the capture of such market for our fishermen would be most valuable to them. Had they then better forgo this capture than the privileges offered in Canadian waters? This is a question for our commissioners to weigh. But evidently the war has given us some trading capital.

ANOTHER dispute of long standing that the commission will try to solve is that of the pelagic seal fisheries. The pelagic sealing by Canadians has so nearly exterminated the herds of seals that make their habitat at breeding seasons on our islands, and, as a consequence, the profits of the Canadians engaged in this business have been so reduced that it is not unlikely that Canada will agree to prohibit the use of powder and shot in pelagic sealing. The seal is a polygamous animal and many bulls can be yearly killed without in any way interfering with the birth-rate of young seal. In other words, by judicious killing the extermination of the herds of seals can very readily be guarded against. But when the seals are hunted at sea and killed from a distance with powder and shot judicious killing is impossible, for the hunters cannot determine the sex of the seals at which they shoot. Consequently they kill cow and bull seals indiscriminately, and the killing of the cow seal means the death of her pups by starvation. And so it is that the unregulated pelagic sealing has brought the seal herds to the verge of extermination.

But the Canadians having well nigh killed the goose that layed the golden egg, may now be willing to give us assistance in restoring the herds by guarding against the slaughter of cow seals or even joining us, for a period of years, in a suspension of pelagic sealing altogether. If they refuse we might as well exterminate the herds at once, as we can readily do, by an indiscriminate slaughter when they come to our islands to breed, and by so doing at least secure the value of the skins for ourselves.

The Alaskan boundary dispute, several other minor and irritating matters of dispute, and the general question of trade relations and the promotion of trade by reciprocity arrangements will come before the conference.

IN 1882 Britain imported from her West Indian islands and Guiana £6,529,658, in 1896 only £2,458,180 worth of produce. Here is a tremendous falling off in export trade from British West India to the mother country, a falling off of 60 per cent. And why this falling off? Simply because of the decline in the price of sugar, their chief export. And this fall has been brought about by the pressure of bounty raised European sugar upon the British market and the restriction of the market for cane sugar. European beet sugar has taken the place in Britain of cane sugar raised in her own possessions. The result has been to cast British West India into desperate straits and to cause the sugar refining industry in England to languish. And all this has grown out of the fact that British West India has not

had a fair market, that European bounty paid sugar has been admitted into England upon the same terms as the non-bounty paid sugar of West India. Consequently in British markets the European sugar producers have had an artificial advantage equal to the bounty received.

The British West Indian sugar industry, thus discriminated against, got into a desperate condition such as threatened and threatens dire disaster to the colonies. The sugar industry, getting into such straits, a Parliamentary Commission was appointed to investigate the cause and report upon the remedy. It unanimously reported that the fall in sugar before the competition of bounty-paid sugar was the cause, and that the "best immediate remedy . . . would be the abandonment of the bounty system of continental nations." One of the commissioners, Sir Henry Norman, seeing that the continental countries gave no indication of abandoning their bounty policy, suggested the imposition of countervailing duties upon bounty paid sugars, a duty on sugar imported from bounty paid countries equal to the bounty. These duties he urged as in line with a true policy of fair trade, for their collection would simply put British West Indian planters and European sugar growers upon the same footing in the British markets.

BUT the other commissioners could not bring themselves to endorse such suggestion, such shocking heresy. They admitted that the real trouble was in the bounty system of Europe, that the remedy was its removal, but they were not willing to have the blighting effect of that system removed in the only way feasible. So they proposed tentative measures, suggested the payment of doles out of the imperial treasury for the establishment of botanical stations wherein experiments might be made to see if the desperate colonies could not produce something for which they could find a market, the payment of subsidies to establish steamship lines, cheapen freights, etc. And Parliament taking up the report, voted the tentative suggestions, voted the doles out of the imperial treasury, for it was said it was simply a case of voting money for bread or bullets, and Parliament preferred to vote for bread.

But the West Indian colonies are not satisfied. They realize they can be saved by no such palliatives. So on the initiative of Trinidad, a congress of representatives from all the agricultural and commercial societies of the British West Indies will assemble at Barbadoes early in September to make it clear that it is a case of relief or Perish West India, that if Britain is not disposed to give that relief by the imposition of countervailing duties on imports of bounty paid sugars she must permit her colonies to act for their own relief, must permit them to offer their markets to the United States in exchange for a market for their sugar, in short, to plead for commercial union with the United States such as will shut British goods out of their markets, or even annexation.

THE conditions in the Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Kitts and British Guiana, are terribly desperate. These colonies raise practically nothing but sugar that is exportable; 95 per cent. and over of their exports consist of sugar. And what is more they seem quite unsuited to the growth of coffee or cocoa or fruit on a scale of commercial importance. And the sugar industry threatens to collapse, to ruin, bankrupt those engaged in it.

Conditions in the other British West Indies which are of volcanic formation, mountainous and hence fitted for the production of coffee and cocoa are not so bad for they have not all their eggs in the same basket. But conditions are bad enough even in such islands; in Jamaica, in Trinidad, Grenada and Montserrat.

But on the islands that raise nothing but sugar that is exportable, what must come with the threatened collapse of the



industry? Obviously the revenue derived almost wholly from a land tax on cultivated land and customs must dry up. Consequently, interest on the public debt must stop, government itself come to an end. And as a Cassandra recently wrote:

"Imagine a country with the revenue suddenly dried up, and it is coming fast to that—no salaries to the public officers, no up-keep for the public buildings, no money to spend on the roads, wharves, piers, quays, embankments and light houses, no prisons to hold the convicts, no police to keep order, no courts to administer justice, no magistrates to punish, no fire brigade to extinguish fires, which are so common in a country where, by reason of the earthquakes, the houses are built of wood. The reformatories, hospitals and poor houses closed. The sick and aged turned out into the road. The lepers loosed to roam about amongst the healthy. The schools shut up: education, elementary and technical, brought to nought. Postal and telegraph service discontinued. Does not this spell ruin?"

"There are in the four non-volcanic islands that are fitted only for the production of sugar over 320,000 souls, almost all black. The few white planters, merchants, shopkeepers and officials are not more than 5 per cent. of the whole. These 300,000 odd people are all dependent on sugar for their living. It is true they live on very little, men getting 8d to 10d a day, and women 4d to 6d a day in wages; but when this is withdrawn there is nothing left but a scanty supply of garden produce and bananas to live on.

"The negro is, as a rule, a quiet, orderly, easy-going person, but even he will not sit down and starve. Before that he will go for the baker's shops, and this means trouble. The collapse of sugar means gunboats, marines and blue-jackets landed, and shooting, as inevitably as the rising of tomorrow's sun."

So it is save the sugar industry even though commercial and political relations with England must be severed to do so.

#### TERRITORIAL VS. TRADE EXPANSION.

THERE come times in nations' histories when, dazzled with tales of distant riches, they abandon the wealth at their own feet to exploit the resources of other peoples, when dropping thought of the possibilities of trade expansion at their own doors they bend their energies, make national sacrifices to extend their trade with distant countries. Around such trade, especially when won by war and bloody strife, there gathers a glamor that leads people to unduly magnify its importance and, appealing to their commercial spirit, tempts them on to further territorial expansion as a means to trade expansion, while quite disqualifying them to stop and ask themselves if the game is worth the candle. If they could strip the foreign trade of its glamor and dispassionately weigh that which has been overlooked at home, the wealth that has been cast aside undeveloped in obtaining it against that which has been gained abroad, we are prone to believe they would find that they were not pursuing the direct path to their enrichment and happiness and national greatness. The making of a market for goods at the cannon's mouth is certainly not deserving of the encouragement of unalloyed success, and though the glamor of success will be prone to attach to a market thus opened, we doubt much if a market so opened has ever resulted in national enrichment, doubt if as great wealth has been reaped from the opening of such market as has been lost in skipping and abandoning wealth to be had through pursuit of the natural channels of trade.

History tells us of many nations that, dazzled by riches to which distance has lent glamor, blinded to the wealth at their feet needing only labor to uncover by the prospects of gain by exploiting the riches of other peoples, have embarked on careers of territorial expansion with a view to national enrichment. Thus did Greece embark and fall, thus did Rome embark with like result, thus did Spain embark to meet wreck. The losses in overshooting sources of home wealth were greater than the gains from the forced and unnatural trade with other peoples. And so came not national enrichment and greatness but impoverishment and decline.

But of all nations that have pursued this path the one that has pursued it most systematically is pointed to as a brilliant example of the national greatness and wealth and power that can be attained by a policy of forcing trade expansion, making a market for goods at the cannon's mouth. Thus is the power of Great Britain pointed to. But has Britain, a country that has so abandoned her agricultural interests in extending her markets for manufactured goods that her rulers now seriously give thought to the construction of national granaries in which a store of imported grain may be kept that British people may not be starved in the event of war and the temporary cutting off of foreign food supplies, a country that has made herself dependent upon others for her food, that has permitted her agricultural interests to languish and undermined a home market for manufactured goods while forcing another market at the cannon's mouth, has the Britain that has done this and impoverished her Ireland and her India into the bargain added to her power and greatness? Stronger and richer she has undoubtedly grown while pursuing this path of territorial expansion, but is she as strong, are her people as rich as they would be if she had not abandoned the development of her own resources, had not dropped industry and trade developed in natural channels to take up and develop trade opened at the cannon's mouth?

To such question no definite answer can be given. But some light we can throw upon it. And first, what is the extent of the trade that Britain has gained through territorial expansion? In all her colonies and possessions she found in 1896 a market for but £90,650,001 worth of goods, or less than \$450,000,000. Of course her territorial expansion policy, her display and use of militant force may have resulted in extending markets outside of her possessions and that otherwise would not have been opened. But on the other hand all the trade with what are now her possessions cannot fairly be said to have been gained through territorial expansion. Some part at least of the markets which she now has she could have obtained without territorial expansion. Surely she could have found such market as far as the peoples over whom she has extended her rule and influence had cared for and been able to purchase what she has to sell. She could have found a market just as we have found a market in China and Japan for some \$35,000,000 worth of goods a year.

It may be said indeed that Chinese and Japanese markets would have been closed to us if they had not been opened to the world by British guns. But the people has yet to be found, civilized or barbaric, who will refuse to exchange their goods when offered goods in return that they consider of greater value. It is only when the attempt is made to force people to trade against their will that they will resist, when the attempt is made to exploit them that the way for trade, or we had better call it robbery, must be forced at the cannon's mouth. And it may well be gravely questioned if such a policy profits in the end, may well be questioned if a more profitable trade could not be built up by honest means. As it is, trade of the Western world with China has partaken, especially in its inception much of the nature of piratical business. Indeed, English and American houses of reputation openly sought riches in China by piracy. We say this weighing our words and with knowledge.

And English trade partook much of the same nature in India. The whole rule of the East India Company was one of extortion and robbery. But even granting that foreign trade can be made more profitable in the end by availing of militant superiority to despoil and impoverish one's customers, it does not follow that a nation can add to its strength, its riches, by such use of force to expand trade. On the contrary, it is likely that a people tempted to embark in such trade will divert to it energies and labor that could be spent to greater profit in the development of trade and industry in other channels. And so we believe it has been with the British people. We believe the trade purchased at the cannon's mouth has been accompanied by a loss of



domestic trade infinitely greater, that the foreign market for goods made by force has not equalled the check to the home market through the undermining of British agricultural interests.

But as other peoples have been dazzled by distant riches and the dream of national enrichment by forcing trade with foreign peoples so it seems that a goodly part of our people are now dazzled. So we are urged to hold the Philippines as an entering wedge to trade expansion in the east, so are we told that unless we pursue the role of territorial expansion the possibilities of trade expansion will be closed to us. China, we are told, is on the verge of dissolution, of absorption by foreign nations who will be likely to respectively foster their own trade by discriminating against American and other goods. So it is said we would be shut off from trade expansion by discriminating duties raised by our rivals, not only this but that we would lose the market we already have. We exported last year to China and Hong Kong \$16,258,094 worth of produce and this market we are told will be closed to us unless we join hands with England to uphold the Chinese Empire that we may exploit it together and grow rich out of its exploitation.

Now our exports of \$16,000,000 to China seem small beside the total figure of our exports for the year of over \$1,200,000,000 but it is a fact that our exports to China are nearly one-half as large as the exports of Great Britain, and that the imports into China from the United States and Great Britain make up fully one-third of her total imports. Besides a very considerable market is found in China for British Indian produce. Consequently, small as our interest is as compared to our whole trade it is quite large proportionately to the trade with China. And so it is said that our interest is to annex the Philippines and by the display and if need be use of militant force join hands with Britain to prevent the disruption of China. This policy is all urged upon us as the path to trade expansion. To trade expansion territorial expansion is, it is said, the stepping stone and so the insistent demand for the annexation of the Philippines, a demand springing not from any sense of duty to the people of those islands but from pure commercial selfishness.

Now we do not believe that the disruption of China is impending. We are inclined to believe that the mutual jealousies of the powers of Europe will prevent, that unable to agree upon a division of the spoils no division can take place. And so we are disposed to consider this argument put forth by our territorial expansionists, by those who demand territorial expansion as a means to self and national enrichment by the despoilment of other peoples, as more of a bugbear than anything else. But suppose we grant that to keep open the markets of China we must join England in a display of militant strength and inaugurate that display by taking the Philippines and mobilizing a powerful fleet in eastern waters. If we grant this, the question to decide is this: is it worth our while? And as the gain to be had is purely commercial, we may as well proceed to consider it in a purely commercial spirit.

To begin with, we may as well state that the total foreign trade of China in 1895, was \$245,700,000, and in 1896, \$260,208,000, and that in the latter year, \$158,301,000, consisted of import trade. That is, China made a market in 1896 for \$158,000,000 worth of foreign goods. This is a strikingly small trade for a nation of perhaps 400,000,000 of people. Indeed it is so small as compared to our domestic trade as to be hardly worth consideration. As it amounts to not more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of our domestic trade we should take just forty times the pains to conserve our domestic trade as to capture this China trade. And then we cannot hope to capture the whole of this China trade. If we join hands with England to keep it open, surely England will want some of it. True it may be well urged that under joint British and American exploitation the market would expand. But we are not at all certain of this.

India, with a population two-thirds as great as China and under British rule, only makes a market for about \$225,000,000 worth of produce a year, of which about \$150,000,000 is British.

So if we take past experience for our guide we cannot look for any enormous expansion of the markets for foreign goods in China. Bear also in mind that in Japan we would find a powerful competitor for the Chinese markets. For several years the exports of Japan to China have increased greatly, while the exports of the United States and Great Britain have, in the aggregate, hardly held their own. The great gain of Japanese exports to China has been coincident with the fall in exchange consequent upon the decline in the gold value of silver. The result of such fall was to make greater the silver cost of everything bought from gold using countries and for which the same gold price was asked. Consequently, the cost in China of goods bought from England and America was increased with every fall in exchange unless gold prices were cut proportionately with such fall. But not so with Japanese goods produced on a silver basis. The Japanese manufacturer of cotton yarns, etc., with fixed charges payable in silver and wages payable in silver, found the silver costs of production in no way increased by the fall in the gold price of silver, and so could afford to sell for the same price in silver, despite the fall in the gold value of silver. Consequently, he found it easy to undersell his English and American competitors. Industry in Japan was greatly stimulated, and by and by wages rose, but with the increased production came economies that made it possible to still turn out goods at about the same cost.

And what was true of the Japanese manufacturer was true also of the manufacturer located in China, and in much larger measure since the abandonment of the silver basis by Japan a year ago. Since such abandonment, fall in exchange in China on gold using countries, of which Japan is now one, has, the Japanese price remaining unchanged, increased the cost to the Chinese of Japanese goods. Hence, fresh stimulus to Chinese manufacturing, the producer in China being protected by the fall in exchange much as he would by a protective tariff for such fall necessitates the asking of a higher price to net the same price to the Japanese manufacturer just as would the collection of a tariff duty.

So it is in no way surprising that the market for Japanese goods in China has expanded, while the market for British and American goods has stood still, nor is it surprising that manufacturing for the fabrication of yarns and cotton goods formerly brought from abroad have been established to a very considerable extent in China. But though the imports into China from the United States and Britain have not increased during the last fifteen years it is a fact worthy of remark that the proportion of the trade held by the United States has very greatly increased. Thus in 1881 the total imports into China from Britain and the United States were about \$58,000,000 and in 1897 about \$53,000,000. But in the first year the proportions were Britain, \$50,000,000, United States, \$8,000,000, in the latter \$35,000,000 and \$18,000,000. This is the highest figure ever attained for exports of the United States to China and Hongkong. In the fiscal year just closed our exports fell to \$16,258,094. It is not to be hastily concluded from this decline, however, that the American export trade to China has reached a final turning point, for a glance at the trade returns shows that exportations from America to China direct and to China through Hongkong have fluctuated very greatly from year to year.

Still there is little reason to look for any great expansion of the Chinese markets for American or British or any other foreign goods. Nor is there any reasonable probability that such expansion can be forced by a display of militant force such as may be depended upon to secure the opening of more ports to foreign commerce or by the absorption of China by the sundry nations seeking after trade expansion in territorial extension.



China is beyond a doubt a country of unsurpassed natural resources. It is also unquestioned that those resources remain undeveloped. There are anthracite coal fields undoubtedly more extensive and apparently richer than the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania, there are bituminous fields that can be paralleled, if at all, only by our own, there are rich iron deposits in close proximity to the coal such as promise the production of iron and steel, of iron and steel for China's development, at prices at which American and British and German iron masters cannot hope to lay down iron and steel in China, there is in the immense Yangtse Valley, a valley paralleled by the Mississippi only that it runs in an opposite direction, between degrees of latitude rather than longitude, an area suited to cotton culture that rivals if it does not surpass our own, and withal a country teeming with a laborious population, a population as bidable as it is industrious and teeming, and such as insures the development of all China's great and nascent resources, a development that will be appalling in its rapidity to the rest of the world, the moment the path is paved for the entrance of Americans and Europeans to give direction. And those Americans and Europeans who thus expatriate themselves will doubtless have opportunities to richly recompense themselves, some have the opportunities and keenness to amass great fortunes. But they will do so not by developing trade with China but trade within China.

This is a point that we would impress. China is a country of unsurpassed productive capacity, but not, at present, of great consumptive capacity. And that consumptive capacity cannot grow until her productive capacity grows, save so far as Europeans and Americans, anticipating the future, may loan capital to China, giving steel rails and locomotives and machinery in return for bonds, or so far as Chinese with hoarded gold and silver, also anticipating the future, may part with such metal and spend it to bring productive capital, such as we have already mentioned, from abroad. But such importation of material can be but of a temporary nature, for China has within herself the means to develop herself, all the means but that energy possessed of the Western nations and needed to give direction to the immeasurable resources of her people. And that energy she must import. She will have occasion, in her development, to import but little else.

Of course, as her resources are developed and the productive capacity of her people increases, so will the consumptive capacity. As her people produce more wealth they will consume more wealth, but there is no reason to believe that they will buy largely of foreign peoples. They will indeed consume more goods but they will be in position to fill their own wants. Their consumptive capacity will only increase with their productive capacity and there is every reason to believe that they can and will make everything they want and at less cost than other peoples can make and deliver such goods to them. Consequently they will buy of themselves, not of others.

So we need not look to China for a great market for our products. When the development of China comes, whether it comes as an empire, or a divided people under the tutelage of others and as come soon it must, Chinamen will supply their own markets. Chinese rail mills will roll the rails for Chinese railroads, Chinese manufactories will make the cloth to clothe Chinese backs. In other words China will become no more dependent than she is now. She will be self-sustaining, capable of making practically all that her people consume cheaper than others can supply them, and so making and not importing, China, developed, will be an agricultural and mining and manufacturing country, not an importing. The prime question for the people of the rest of the world will not be whether they may manufacture to clothe the backs of the Chinese but whether the awakened Chinese may not clothe the backs of others.

So territorial expansion or no territorial expansion, we need not count on extending our exports to China. We produce nothing that China does not or cannot produce, not even petro-

leum. And on her part she can produce little that we do not and may want, save silk and tea. And as both countries are blessed with natural resources unsurpassed the people of each country can, in the natural order of things, make that which they want at a less labor cost than either can import from the other. Consequently there is no room for a great and advantageous trade to spring up between them. True, because of a lower scale of living, Chinese may produce goods for a smaller money cost than we can, but for us to purchase such goods would be simply to reduce our own people to the Chinese level, and so importations of such goods we cannot permit if we would have a regard for our own interests. And we may add that not buying more largely from China, China cannot buy more largely from us.

So we repeat there is little to be looked for in the direction of finding increased and sustained markets for our produce in China. There are countries that we may rightly expect to buy more of our products and those are the countries supplying products of a kind we do not and cannot profitably produce and hence must import. And those are countries lying in different latitudes than our own and China is not one of them. And to this requirement of different latitude we may add the requirement of the same general longitude. This is for the reason that it is cheaper to buy from near markets than remote markets, cheaper to buy from the West Indies lying at our doors than from the East Indies, cheaper to buy our coffee from Brazil than from Java, the tropical products we consume from Cuba than from the Philippines. And cheaper we say it is however much cheaper may be the money cost of producing in the Philippines or Java than in the West Indies. Where natural conditions of production are equal, where the labor costs of production in the West and East Indies are the same, where the labor costs of transporting to our markets are obviously less from the West Indies than the East, it is to our interest to buy from the West, from our neighbors. If we buy under such conditions from the East Indies we simply waste labor in transportation, and though we may fill our needs at less money outlay we by the same act restrict the markets for our products, force the sale of what our own people make for less money, and so cheapen labor with the result that nothing is gained, something lost.

What we need to extend our foreign trade in profitable directions is not territorial expansion but a customs union with all the Americas.

As to the Philippines they lie not in the path of what for us is true trade expansion. If they produced products that could not be raised as advantageously nearer home it would be to our interest to buy from them. But of such products we are aware of only one, the far famed Manila hemp, which, by the way, is not a hemp at all, but the fibre of an unedible variety of banana which it has so far been found impossible to successfully grow outside of the Philippines. So outside of trade in this Manila hemp we can only expand our trade with the Philippines at the expense of our trade with the West Indies and South America which, by its nature, must be most advantageous, and therefore artificial stimulus to trade with the Philippines, such as annexation would be calculated to bring, ought to be discountenanced for it would turn trade into unnatural channels, keep it out of the most profitable.

Finally we would remark that we can find greater profit by striving to remove the incubus of low prices that narrows our domestic markets than by seeking to extend our markets in China or elsewhere through territorial expansion; find greater profit in domestic trade expansion than in foreign trade expansion. The whole Chinese market for foreign produce does not more than equal one fortieth part of the market in our country. And our own market is little if any more than half as broad as it ought to be and would be under just laws governing the production and distribution of wealth. Because the productive



power of our people is seriously curtailed by unjust laws that deprive men of equal opportunities, that deny to men the enjoyment of the fruits of their toil, and so undermine men's energy, paralyze business and destroy the opportunity to work the consuming capacity of our people is much restricted. By changing the unjust for the just, insuring to all men equal opportunities and the right to enjoy the fruits of their labor we can remove the paralysis of industry and so the restriction on consumption and thereby make an extended market for products by the side of which any foreign market would pale into insignificance. Again, we repeat, the true road to trade extension is not wrapt up with territorial expansion. That true road runs largely in our own domain and when it runs abroad it runs along the lines of a customs union with all the Americas.

#### A RAILROAD MADE BLIGHT.

SOME WEEKS ago we wrote of the blight cast upon the anthracite coal fields by railroad discrimination. We made note of the fact that whereas the railroads are transporting bituminous coal from the mines to tidewater at a rate of one-fifth to one-fourth of a cent per ton per mile, they are charging from one cent to one and a quarter, or five times as much, for transporting anthracite, and that as a consequence of such gross discrimination the market for anthracite coal is being narrowed while that for bituminous is being extended. By arbitrarily fixing freight rates so that bituminous coal may be transported for one-fourth or one-fifth the charge that anthracite can, so that bituminous can actually be transported four hundred miles for the same charge that is made for transporting anthracite one hundred, so that the natural advantage of proximity to market is entirely taken away from the anthracite fields, the railroads have made bituminous a cheaper steam making fuel than anthracite to the manufacturers of Philadelphia and New England. And so stacks that gave draught to anthracite fires now belch forth columns of bituminous smoke. The producers of anthracite coal have been unable to successfully compete with the bituminous producers favored by the railroads, hence they have been unable to hold their markets, bituminous has replaced anthracite and the production of anthracite coal has fallen off in marked degree. And so the blight that has befallen the anthracite coal fields, a blight that is the making of the railroads.

It is undoubtedly true that there are some shippers of anthracite coal who have not suffered with the generality; so also is it true that many are the bituminous producers to whom the blight put upon the anthracite fields has not brought prosperity. But this is because the railroads have not blighted all anthracite coal producers by the imposition of profit destroying freight charges, because they have not favored all bituminous producers equally. In other words the open, the published rates are not the rates charged all producers. The favored get rebates from the railroads, are enabled to market their coal at less cost than the producers who have not joined hands with the speculative cliques controlling the railroads and for a division of the spoils. And so it is that there are some anthracite producers and shippers who are prospering despite the general curse put upon the industry. They are prospering because the curse does not extend to them, because in their case an exception is made. And so also is it that there are many bituminous producers who are not prospering despite the extended market given by the railroads for bituminous coal. It is because the speculative cliques, directing the railroads, have conferred that market where, by so doing, they may share in the profits conferred. And above all do we find most favored the producers of West Virginia where labor is most ground down.

And here in a broad sense we fancy we see the purpose of the speculative cliques bent on taking to themselves the profits

of others' toil. Freight rates are now being so regulated as to squeeze the profits out of anthracite coal production, make production in those fields slack, render labor penniless through idleness and unable to resist wage reductions. Thus are freight rates so fixed, so fixed as to squeeze the life out of the industry, squeeze the coal producer out of his property by rendering it profitless for him to operate it, squeeze down the laborer to hopeless poverty. So are they fixed, but we ask how long? Until the end of those who have put the curse upon the anthracite coal fields has been accomplished, until those coal fields have come into the ownership of the speculative cliques who have engineered the deprofitizing scheme by which the independent coal producers must be driven to bankruptcy and forced to part with their property, until these same producers being squeezed from above squeeze down those below them, cut down wages, fight the exhausting strikes that must result and that are woefully costly to employer and wage-earner alike until the laborer is so crushed down by defeat and poverty that he will despairingly accept the poor wage that may be proffered him. And then the speculative cliques, never relenting in their squeeze upon the coal producers until they have squeezed from them their mines, their savings, their earnings and accumulations of past years will come into position to reap the profits of squeezing down labor. Thus for their enrichment they squeeze down the independent coal producer on the one hand and the laborer on the other.

This is the end of the railroad discrimination, of the discrimination put upon the anthracite coal fields. This end accomplished the curse will be removed, the discrimination done away with, the deprofitizing process put in operation by the speculative cliques, the process of charging four times as much for the transportation of anthracite as bituminous coal, will become a thing of the past, the anthracite coal fields will cease to be discriminated against, perhaps the discrimination will be reversed, and then the speculative cliques will reap the profits of their nefarious work.

The interests of the independent anthracite mine owners and the miners are not naturally antagonistic. The employer and wage earner ought to be found working in harmony. It is a dark blotch on our civilization that they are not. The prosperity of the employer should be the laborer's prosperity; from the squeezing down of the employer the laborer cannot profit. It is clear as sunlight that the profits of the employer and the wages of the laborer must come out of the sum realized from the sale of the product of their labor, in this instance coal.

If freights are kept up upon anthracite while they are so reduced upon bituminous as to make it cheaper for sundry former users of anthracite to use bituminous, the result must be a displacing of anthracite by bituminous, save so far as that may be averted by a reduction in the price of anthracite at the mines. If such reduction is not made a market is lost, less product can be sold, a smaller sum can be realized, less will there be to divide as profits and wages. And part idleness of mines brings loss to owners, as idleness one or two or three days a week brings loss to laborers. It is for the reason that coal cannot be produced as cheaply in a mine running slack as in a mine running full. This is because in the mine running slack there are fewer tons of coal mined among which to divide the more or less fixed costs of operation, costs just as heavy when the mine runs slack as when full, costs such as pumpage and superintendence and interest and taxes.

So the mine owner will struggle hard to hold a market, he will reduce prices to do so. But if he sells for less the sum realized for the product of the mine must be less even though the output be undiminished. And obviously all this loss will be taken from the profits of the mine owner unless wages are reduced. And such reduction of profits he will not accept without a struggle. In short he will cut wages. This may be followed



by resistance on the part of the miners, resistance by strike. But if the railroads have carried their deprofitizing process so far as to destroy the profits of production under old conditions such resistance will be vain for with profits wiped out through a fall in prices the mine owner simply cannot continue to pay old wages. He simply must stop production or cut down expenses by cutting down wages. And so wages come down, employer and laborer suffer adversity together and there is no end of hard feeling between them.

Bear in mind that the laborer is paid out of that which he produces, or the sum realized from that which he produces. Bear also in mind that the employer who organizes and directs labor must be recompensed out of the same sum. The one gets his pay as wages the other as profits but both profits and wages come out of the same sum. And if this sum is reduced one or the other or both must be reduced, probably both. If this sum is increased there will be room both for profits and wages to increase and under free competition both will increase.

Thus take anthracite coal upon which the producer realizes perhaps 40 per cent. less than the tidewater price. That is the railroads take 40 per cent. of the sum realized for taking it to market. If they carried it at the rate that bituminous is now carried the mine owner would realize, say, 90 per cent. instead of 60 per cent. of the tidewater price. This would mean that he would get 90 per cent. instead of 60 per cent. of value or 50 per cent. more than now. So his profits would be much swollen, he would seek an extended market and find an extended market even though he had to reduce the tidewater price to get such market. Clearly he could reduce such tidewater price 30 per cent. without reducing the price which he now realizes. To supply the extended market he would have to increase the output, have to employ more men. And as all other anthracite producers would be doing likewise competition for labor would increase and thus would the laborer be enabled to command higher wages. So the result of such freight reduction would probably result in a decreased tidewater price, that is a decreased price to consumers, but not so much decreased as the decreased freight charge and consequently an increased sum realized at the mines which would be divided as increased profits and wages. And this increased sum realized at the mines would come not only because of an increased sum realized on each ton sold but because of the extended market and increased number of tons marketed.

And now let us look a little into the freight charges on anthracite as compared to freight charges in general. We learn from the President of The Anthracite Association, Mr. Thos. H. Dale, of Scranton, Pa., that "the freight charges on anthracite have not materially changed during the past twenty-five years," that "the open freight-rate from Scranton to tidewater is to day \$1.60 per gross ton, about the same rate which obtained 'during the wah'." Twenty-five years ago such rate was little if any more than half the average freight-rate on the aggregate of freight-tonnage; to-day it is nearly one-half more. In other words the anthracite coal rate has been kept unchanged while freight-rates in general have been cut down by two-thirds.

Before we go further it is well to remark that coal is a grade of freight that can be very cheaply handled. It is true that the cars in which it is transported must be hauled back to the mines empty, that there is of necessity an empty train to be hauled for every full one and that must be charged against the earnings of the loaded coal train. But on the other hand the trade is such as to insure full train loads of coal which is not the case with general merchandise. Then the cars for the transportation of coal are cheaper and loading and unloading being accomplished with great rapidity, more mileage can be made with coal cars than other freight cars. The result is that in a given time a greater tonnage of freight can be transported in coal cars than others. And so it is that the railroads can afford to carry coal cheaper than average

freight; and so far as bituminous is concerned, this they are doing, carrying it for about one-third the charge for other freight. But the charge for anthracite, mile for mile and ton for ton is very considerably above the average freight charge.

Thus we have seen that the freight charge on anthracite from Scranton to tidewater is about \$1.60 per gross ton or about one cent per mile. The average freight rate of the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1896 was fifty-six hundredths of a cent per mile, the average for the railroads of the whole country eighty-two hundredths of a cent, this however calculated on a net ton of 2000 pounds. But what we wish to especially emphasize is that while anthracite freight charges have remained unchanged during the past twenty-five and more years general freight charges have, the country over, been cut down nearly two-thirds, on some railroads by much more. Thus turning to a table in the Statistical Abstract of the United States, prepared by the editor of "Poor's Railroad Manual," we find that the average freight rate per ton per mile for the years 1870 and 1896 was, for some of the larger roads, fairly illustrative of the whole, as follows:—

Name of Road.	1870	1896
	Cents.	Cents.
New York Central & Hudson River . . . . .	1.88	.67
Pennsylvania . . . . .	1.55	.56
Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago . . . . .	1.46	.66
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy . . . . .	3.06	.87
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul . . . . .	2.80	1.00
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific . . . . .	2.74	1.03
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe . . . . .	3.23	1.12
Missouri Pacific . . . . .	3.00	.86
Missouri, Kansas & Texas . . . . .	4.49	.99
Illinois Central . . . . .	1.74	.75
Louisville & Nashville . . . . .	2.97	.82
Norfolk & Western . . . . .	2.89	.45
Union Pacific . . . . .	4.26	1.04

Such railroads are indicative of the whole. It will be remarked that average freight rates are much lower upon some than upon others, but it will be seen that on all there has been a very marked decline in rates. The explanation of the wide difference in rates is largely to be found in the character of the traffic. Thus the average rates on those railroads, such as the Pennsylvania; Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago, and especially the Norfolk & Western, upon which a large part of the traffic is coal, are very considerably lower than the average rates on the Granger roads, such as the Burlington, St. Paul, Rock Island and Atchison, whose chief traffic is in grain and farm produce. Of course the costs of transportation on the roads of lightest traffic are greatest, and so on the roads that run further west and into the more sparsely settled districts the average charges are naturally higher than on the roads of heavier traffic, provided of course that the traffic is of the same character. Where the traffic is in good part coal or iron the average rates are, for reasons given, lower. But this aside we find, taking the leading railroads and arranging them in groups, that the average rate per ton per mile on roads east of Chicago was 1.61 cents in 1870 and .60 in 1896, on west and northwestern lines 2.61 cents and .98, on southwestern lines 2.95 cents and .99, on southern lines 2.39 cents and .68, on the transcontinental lines 4.50 and 1.07 cents. And on the leading roads for the whole country we find average freight rates were 1.99 cents in 1870 and .78 of a cent in 1896.

Thus we see an average decline in freight rates from a little less than two cents per ton per mile to a fraction more than three-fourths of a cent, yet the rate on anthracite is from a cent to a cent and a quarter to-day, and has been unchanged for a quarter of a century. Thus we see how the anthracite coal producers are being squeezed. Thus do we have an illustration of a deadening blight put upon a great industry by our railroads. And this is far from the only example of railroad blight. Indeed, as a general thing the enterprises of all those who fight with the trusts and combines, from the Standard Oil and the Sugar Trust



down, suffer from such blight. Such trusts and combines are largely the children of railroad discrimination and the railroads blight their competitors. It is everywhere monopoly to squeeze the people and the railroads the defenders of monopoly. It is quite time that the railroads served independent producers on the same terms as monopoly. Until they do so honest industry, where dependent on railroad transportation, will go unrewarded and monopoly flourish. It is time that the government take and operate the railroads to the end that they be made the conservators and not destroyers of equal opportunities.

### PEOPLES PARTY NOTES.

STATE CHAIRMAN PALMER, of Illinois, writes us that "I have sufficient number of answers to my call for a conference of state chairmen at Cincinnati on September 5th to assure the success of the meeting. I think nearly every state east of the Mississippi River will be represented at the conference asked for by me." Mr. Palmer will make the Palace Hotel his headquarters.

THE AMERICAN will also have quarters at the Palace Hotel.

THE Populists of the Twenty-first Congressional District of Illinois held their convention at Nashville, Ill., on August 4th and nominated William F. Quellmalz, of Bellville as their candidate for Congress. They adopted a platform demanding "the adoption of the system of direct legislation known as the initiative and referendum," demanding "an increase of the volume of money to, and its subsequent maintenance at, an amount sufficient to create and perpetuate an equitable standard of values," demanding that the government go into and not out of the banking business, abolish national banks and establish government deposit and exchange banks in their stead, that the powers of the courts be restricted "to the exclusion of government by injunction," that a graduated income tax be imposed, that the government assume the ownership and operation of railroad, telegraph and telephone lines and that alien ownership of land be prohibited.

The convention, on motion of C. A. Burton, of Salem, further adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the National Organization Committee of the Peoples party of the United States has called a national nominating convention to be held at Cincinnati the 5th day of next September; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention extend greeting and send delegates to said convention.

C. A. Burton, of Salem, and James Sewell, of Bellville, were then chosen delegates to Cincinnati. Illinois was not one of the states that we counted upon to send any duly accredited delegates to Cincinnati. The action of the Populists of the twenty-first Congressional district is therefore doubly pleasing and encouraging.

**How Florida Populists Regard the Convention.** FLORIDA Populists are earnestly in favor of the Cincinnati convention. At Selma, on the 6th inst, the Populists of Calhoun county met in mass convention, Hon. J. S. Stone presiding, and among other resolutions adopted the following:

We most emphatically protest against allowing Marion Butler to dominate the People's Party and positively refuse to acknowledge him longer as the national chairman of the party.

We endorse the call made for a national convention to be held at Cincinnati, Sept. 5th, and while we do not desire nominations to be made at the said convention the present year, we do most earnestly desire the meeting to assemble on the date named in the call for the purpose of finding out where we are at and outlining a plan for a long, vigorous campaign of reorganization and building up the party, and we most earnestly urge that a full delegation be sent from Florida to this convention, and desire that they use their influence in behalf of holding a nominating convention in 1899.

Hon. F. H. Lytle, Chairman of the Florida delegation, writes that he will be at Cincinnati.

COMMENTING on our suggestion that nominations made at Cincinnati be referred back to the people, Mr. Paul Dixon, delegate from Missouri to the Cincinnati convention, and writing in the *Missouri World*, remarks:

"Wharton Barker favors nominating candidates for President and Vice-President at Cincinnati, and referring these nominations to referendum vote in January or February, 1900. Why not have the convention provide that on the petition of say 1,000, any person's name may be printed on the referendum ballot. That in the spring of 1899, say about May 1, all the names thus petitioned for shall be printed on a ballot and the rank and file of the party be asked to express their choice between them. For the convention to select a man and refer this one name to the people to say yes or no, without opportunity to name their choice, would be very little improvement on the old way of nominating. They might veto the nomination, and then another convention nominate another man, equally unacceptable, perhaps, but whom the people would have to ratify for lack of time for another convention."

"We suggest that the convention provide that any one's name will be placed upon the referendum ballot as a candidate for the nomination for President if 1000 members of the party ask it by petition.

"Also that any proposition to amend the party platform, may be printed upon the referendum ballot, if 1000 members of the party ask it by petition.

"It might be well to allow the convention to suggest one or more names for each office (president and vice-president) and those names be printed on the referendum ballot without petition and the same as to amendments to platform. However, we would prefer that the convention leave the matter entirely to the masses of the party, and not, as a body, even suggest whom the party should nominate."

SENATOR MARION BUTLER speaking before a mass meeting of Texas Populists last week promised, as Chairman of the National Committee, to work as an unalloyed middle of the road Populist. At least the Associated News despatches tell us that he so promised.

Working hard to keep Texans away from the Cincinnati Convention.

IN REPLY to a request of Ignatius Donnelly for information as to the Cincinnati convention, Milton Park responded as follows:

"The Cincinnati convention has not been cancelled. I hope that every middle-of-the-roader will exert himself to make the convention a success.

"MILTON PARK,

"Chairman National Organization Committee, Dallas, Texas."

### Thirty-second National Encampment of G. A. R. at Cincinnati, O.—Reduced Rates via Pennsylvania Railroad.

For the thirty-second National Encampment of G. A. R., to be held at Cincinnati, O., September 5 to 10, 1898, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company will sell excursion tickets at rate of single fare for the round trip.

These tickets will be sold on September 3, 4, and 5, and will be good to leave Cincinnati returning not earlier than September 6 nor later than September 13, except that by depositing ticket with Joint Agent at Cincinnati on September 5, 6, 7, 8, or 9, and on payment of twenty-five cents, return limit may be extended so that passengers may remain at Cincinnati until October 2.—*Adv.*

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

INSECT LIFE. By Prof. John Henry Comstock. Pp. 349; illustrated. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$2.50.

BISMARCK IN PRIVATE LIFE. By a Fellow Student. Pp. 286, with portraits. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.

SONGS OF DESTINY, and Others. By Julia P. Dabney. Pp. 180. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION OF SIR ROBERT EDEN. By Bernard C. Steiner. Pp. 142. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE. By Ferdinand Schwill, Ph.D. Pp. 434, with maps and genealogical tables. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50 net.

STORIES BY FOREIGN AUTHORS (RUSSIAN). Pp. 163. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 75 cents.

STORIES BY FOREIGN AUTHORS (SCANDINAVIAN). Pp. 179. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 75 cents.

YESTERDAYS IN THE PHILIPPINES. By Joseph Earle Stevens. Pp. 232; illustrated. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50



## BOOK REVIEWS.

## Laughlin on Money.

*Report of the Monetary Commission of the Indianapolis Convention.* Indianapolis. H. H. HANNA.

This report which makes a very substantial volume of 600 pages is nothing less than a general treatise on money and banking by Prof. J. Lawrence Laughlin, of Chicago, written obviously and ostensibly as a bit of special pleading in support of the plan urged by the Indianapolis Monetary Convention to bring about the retirement of our national and the substitution of bank currency. By way of preface we may remind our readers that there was held in January, 1897, at Indianapolis, a self-styled "Business Men's Convention," representative of various Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce and sundry similar bodies. This convention was called to give impetus to the movement for the retirement of our greenback currency and the general remodelling of our monetary system on a gold and bank basis. Duly passing resolutions urging in general terms such remodelling of our system, the convention instructed the chairman to appoint an Executive Committee of fifteen members to carry forward the general programme and charged such committee to urge upon Congress, at its special session, such legislation as would authorize the President to appoint a Monetary Commission to formulate a plan for remodelling our currency system along the lines laid down by the Indianapolis convention and report such plan to Congress. Failing to secure favorable action from Congress the Executive Committee was charged to appoint a Monetary Commission on its own responsibility and instruct such commission to report to the Indianapolis convention to be duly recalled by the Executive Committee to receive such report.

Congress failing to authorize the President to appoint a Monetary Commission at its special session, although at the tag end of the session Mr. McKinley sent a special message to Congress commending the work of the Indianapolis convention and recommending legislation that would enable him to carry out the idea of that convention, the Executive Committee acted, as it was charged to act in such circumstances, by appointing a Monetary Commission of eleven members. After due deliberation this commission formulated a general plan for remodelling our currency system in accord with the resolutions of the Indianapolis convention and that convention was recalled to meet in January, 1898, at Indianapolis, that the commission might report the results of its labors. The plan was duly reported, endorsed by the convention and the commission thanked while steps were ordered taken to press such plan upon Congress. So the commission felt bounden to prepare a general work of information detailing the merits of the proposed plan and in general of currency legislation along the lines laid down by the Indianapolis convention, a work in which those supporting the plan could find a fund of ready information. And, as the scholastic member of the commission, Prof. J. Lawrence Laughlin was charged with the preparation of such report.

Thus came to be written the general treatise on money and banking, the elaboration of the plan of the Monetary Commission, that we have before us. What we would expect to find in a treatise on money having such an origin we do find. We have the gold standard lauded, and what appear to our instructor to be the merits of bank currency and the demerits of national currency, are duly pointed out. Yet it is as the student rather than as the partisan that he writes. He strives to show that the plan of the commission rests on solid economic grounds, that it gives but recognition to the teachings of monetary science. Naturally the report is biased in favor of the gold standard and bank currency, for in the unapproachable superiority of such standard and such currency Professor Laughlin believes. Yet in the report we find many irrefutable statements such as must rudely shock the legion of editorial scribes, stump speakers and business men who have defended the gold standard as invariable, taught us that gold has a fixed, an unchangeable value, that it is not subject to the ordinary laws of trade.

Professor Laughlin breaks such comfortable belief into fragments, tells us that gold has no fixed value, that it is only superior to other commodities as a standard of value because it fluctuates less violently. He discusses the money question from A to Z, from elementary principles to the intricacies of banking, and shows how the plan of the commission is in accord with what he lays down as sound economic doctrine. In turn he treats of metallic money, bank money and national currency. In his discussion of bank money he has much to say of our national

banks, while the sections on national currency are largely given over to a discussion of our greenback currency, its history and character.

Introducing the subject by giving the definition of money as presented in the generality of text books he proceeds to assert that value is not an absolute thing but a ratio, that changes in prices are but changes in the ratio of value between gold and commodities. Thus he says: "When we state the price of wheat in the standard, say gold, we are comparing the value of wheat with gold; if the price of wheat rises we may correctly say, since wheat commands more grains of gold, either that wheat has risen, or that gold has fallen, in value relatively to the other. Consequently, there is no absolute measure of value as there is of length . . . . A yardstick is an invariable measure of length; but a metal, or any commodity, is not and never can be an unvarying measure of the relations of that metal or commodity to other commodities which are constantly changing relatively to each other. The very commodity chosen as a standard can be changed in value by causes affecting itself; and the other commodities (which are compared to the standard) can be changed by causes affecting them; so that the ratio of exchange with the chosen standard may be modified by causes affecting either or both terms of the ratio."

Gold then is no perfect standard. But, declares Prof. Laughlin, it is the best commodity to take for a standard because the existing supply of gold has become so large as compared with the annual output that great "changes in the annual production have a relatively small effect on the total mass in existence." "The effect produced" he adds "is somewhat like that of adding a barrel of water to Lake Michigan; it does not perceptibly raise the level of the lake." A very effective illustration, but hardly apt considering that the annual output of gold is now equal to about 5 per cent. of the total stock of gold in existence. However, we dwell not on this, for his general point is well taken. We would only remark that this advantage that he claims for the gold standard would be held by the bimetallic standard with even greater force, for the total supply of gold and silver as compared to output is proportionately greater than the supply of gold as compared to output, and then the aggregate annual production of gold and silver is less apt to undergo violent change than is the output of gold. History proves this, a change in the production of one metal in one direction often being offset by a change of the other metal in the opposite. And so by its very nature the bimetallic standard should be less subject to changes than the monometallic. But as no commodity has a fixed value, as no commodity can make a true standard why not cut loose from a commodity standard altogether?

Admitting all this, admitting that the value of gold is variable, that it is subject to the laws of supply and demand, Prof. Laughlin seeks to cut loose from the quantitative theory of money by declaring that the substance chosen for the standard need not be the medium of exchange. And then he points out that as a matter of fact paper money and bank credits make, in great part, our medium of exchange. But when all such paper money and bank credits are redeemable in gold their volume is dependent upon the volume of gold. Those representatives of gold must keep the same value as gold. As credits are granted the purchasing power of those to whom they are granted grows. This means increasing demand and rising prices for goods. Then if there has not come a coequal increase in gold such as may have cheapened that metal and equally raised prices the world over, what must happen? Very evidently an increase in imports, decline in exports and drain of gold, the cheaper money, credits, driving out the dearer. Then to stop the drain of gold there must come contraction of these credits. This is a rule that Prof. Laughlin recognizes in other connections but does not here apply. What is more, it is recognized in our national banking law which requires the banks of New York to keep a cash reserve of one-fourth of their deposits.

However, Prof. Laughlin goes so far as to say that from "the use of per capita figures, so common in the discussion of this subject, springs the idea that the more money a country has in use the better off it is. It is probable that the contrary is true." This he asserts as the climax to an argument that bank credits take the place of gold, that the more advanced peoples, by use of such means of payment, to wit, checks, can dispense with the use of money. This would be a very good argument if banks did not have to keep a certain reserve of cash against the credits they grant. But so long as these credits are redeemable in cash the banks must hold reserves of cash, and so the use of money cannot be dispensed with, even as a medium of exchange. And,



as a matter of fact, turning to the United States Mint report and reading it in the light of Professor Laughlin's statement, as just quoted, we find that China, Bulgaria, India, Cuba, Japan, Turkey are, in the order named, the countries that are best off in all the world, for they are the countries having the least money per capita.

Now, Professor Laughlin also tells us that the gold standard was established in the United States by "an evolution of business and not of politics," and that therefore we should keep it. But the fact is that it was an evolution in politics, the change in ratio in 1834, that drove out silver and established gold in its place. And then he goes on to say that if the value of the standard undergoes change owing to natural causes, changes in the production of gold or of commodities, it is not the business of the government to interfere. But suppose the standard undergoes change in value not from natural causes, but from government arbitrarily doubling the demand for gold? And this is what has happened of late years. But Prof. Laughlin says that the government has no right, through exercising control over the currency, to "regulate prices artificially and thereby make a redistribution of property." What we ask, however, ask as a right, is not that the government control the volume of currency so as to make a redistribution of property, but so as to prevent redistribution.

Referring to the Multiple Standard, Prof. Laughlin says very correctly that it "is based on the assumption that the creditor should have only the same quantity and quality of goods at the end as at the beginning of a contract," and protests that it would be unjust, inasmuch as the creditor would get no more goods at the end of a contract than at the beginning, even though the productiveness of labor was much increased. But truly if the wage of the workman is measured by the productiveness of his labor, as it ought to be, that wage should increase with any increase in productiveness, and to deprive him of such increase and an increase equal to the increased productiveness is a crying injustice. When the workman works more adroitly why should he pay the creditor more, when he works more energetically why should he be taxed because of such increased productiveness, when methods of production are improved and he produces more why should he and his employer be obliged to share that increased productiveness with the creditor, with one to whom the increased productiveness is in no manner due? We say it is wrong.

On the movement of gold, Prof. Laughlin has an interesting chapter, in which he sets forth that any country can get gold that has anything to buy it with, and that the United States, as the richest country, can get all the gold she wants. And under the commission plan this Laughlin report says the banks could supply themselves with all the gold needed by contracting their loans, forcing interest rates up and prices down. That would bring gold, yes, and bankrupt their customers. In this connection Prof. Laughlin also says that "the scarcity of currency existing in" the Southern states "is by no means due to a general scarcity of currency in the country as a whole; but has been solely due to the fact that these regions have been deficient in capital." Very true, but why have they been deficient? Because the appreciation of gold has forced down prices of Southern produce until the crops do not sell for enough to cover costs of production. Consequently capital is drained off, consequently they suffer from a scarcity of money. And yet we are told that the general dearthness of money has nothing to do with it. It has everything to do with it.

We are tempted to pick out innumerable passages in the sections on banking for criticism, but we must pass them by until we come to the concluding remarks on government *vs.* bank notes. Prof. Laughlin, candidly admitting that there is a profit in such issue, boldly presents the case thus: "The question may naturally arise, to whom should the privilege be granted of economizing the medium of exchange and to whom should go the saving arising therefrom." And he answers the banks, because, quoting Ricardo with approval, "this power would be more likely to be abused, if in the hands of the government, than if in the hands of a banking company." Then Laughlin goes on to argue that the government must not be permitted to issue the currency and regulate the value thereof, for to thus show the power of government would lead to socialism. "The destructive influences following from the issue of greenbacks in stimulating socialistic tendencies," he adds, "have been already widely felt and their existence forms a strong argument against entering into or maintaining a policy of government issues." Then we have a lame argument to show that it was not currency contraction after the war that led to the fall in prices. Thus of the retirement of national currency and the general outcry against contraction in 1866, we read that "although McCulloch reduced the volume of legal

tenders and fractional currency outstanding by \$66,000,000, this decrease was about compensated by an increase of \$62,000,000 in national bank notes. The real cause of suffering was not an imaginary contraction, but the serious change that was taking place in the value of the standard itself." But what was bringing this serious change? Contraction. Prof. Laughlin, from what we have just quoted, would have us believe there was no contraction. But exactly seven lines before he had written that "during 1866 the interest bearing notes ceased to circulate." This is what caused contraction, this is what caused the remaining currency to rise as measured by gold and prices to fall. What is more, in forcing this contraction, Secretary McCulloch, by whom Prof. Laughlin swears, avowed that it was his aim to raise the value of the paper currency, and bring about "the serious change in the value of the standard itself," of which Laughlin speaks. Evidently this gentleman is a blind reader of McCulloch's reports.

And now just one more quotation in conclusion. In a chapter on the effect of paper issues on the cost of the Civil War, he shows how bondholders got one dollar for every fifty cents loaned. "The dollars paid in redemption of the debt were much more valuable than the dollars borrowed. . . . The difference between the gold value of fifty cents received and the one hundred repaid was not nominal; it was a real increase in the cost of the war to the taxpayers. It was so much more wealth which the people had to take from their pockets and give to the Treasury in order to pay the debt incurred by the government." This is all very true but why put the cost down to the greenbacks? Why not where it belongs, to the post bellum legislation making bonds sold for greenbacks repayable in coin?

If you want this report write to H. H. Hanna, cousin of Mark (this not needed in address), Indianapolis, Ind., and if you so write as to give the impression that you are a pretty big gun and a man of influence whom it would be worth while for the currency reformers to convert or, perchance, if you are a gold bug, to coach, a copy will doubtless be sent you free. If you care not to do this and money comes easier to you than letter writing, send ninety cents and you can get a bargain, for the report is being sold at cost if not under, that will cover several inches of book shelf.

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#### A Look at Bismarck's Body and Mind.

*Bismarck in Private Life.* By a Fellow Student. Translated by H. Hayward. With Portraits. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.

The present book is a re-issue of the "Bismarck Intime" published seven years ago, but is none the worse for that. The Iron Chancellor will long continue to be by far the most interesting figure and character of all his princely contemporaries during these thirty years. Few filled so large a space either as a public force or a force behind the scenes, whose words make such pungent and easy reading. He was not a talker, nor an orator, nor a student, nor a reader, nor even a profound thinker. His world was a narrow one, but on a mighty scale, and his genius made him the shrewdest, strongest, and sternest man of business in the line of his choice. It was his pride to be the imperial drummer for the house of Germany, and by his self-written epitaph he is content with the glory of having been the pre-eminently successful and "faithful servant of Emperor William I." The absence of the qualities or tastes so dear to the statesman class, such as leads them to covet the laurels of oratory and authorship, adds a homely interest of curiosity to our general admiration for so strong a personality. And, certainly, this empire welder was a curiosity, even among the motley crowd of world heroes.

If John Bunyan's emotional self-portraiture were to be believed literally, there never was a bigger sinner than he in his youth. The scope of a full-blooded village scapegrace in the seventeenth century was scarcely as great for mischief as that of a city noble in the nineteenth. Bunyan would not hesitate now to yield the palm for rowdyism to the later champion whose name and pet vices begin, like John's, with B. We have it on his own authority that Bismarck's youth was boisterous, beery, boorish, bacchanalian, blustery, braggart, bullying, brutal, bad in behavior, mad in pranks, never happier than when imitating the manners of a Hottentot and the morals of a he-goat. In after life he regarded all this as the providential exhaustion of steam, sure to have exploded with disaster later on. He says nothing of the damage done by those prentice blasts. Twenty-eight duels fought and, of course, all won. Blood and iron was his unconscious motto from the start, working thus—first a whack with the iron, then the blood flows; result, victory. Explode and conquer, was his golden rule; if a weapon was not handy



he exploded himself, and did so down to his last days. In his philosophic youth his shoemaker failed to send the shoes at the appointed night-hour. At six in the morning Bismarck's messenger was sent to ring the shop bell and had to ring it hard every ten minutes during the day until the shoes were finished. In a Berlin saloon he overheard a group of politicians saying sharp things of one of the royal princes. Bismarck at last strode up to them and in furious tones bade them "Get out of this, all of you. If I find a single one of you still here when I have emptied my glass I'll smash it on his head!" They smiled contemptuously and went on talking as before. Bismarck emptied his glass, went up to the loudest talker and broke it on the poor fellow's head. His liquor was evidently mighty, but theirs was poor stuff, as they allowed him to swagger out without a thrashing. A spiritless people means a flourishing despotism in the small as in the large. "Political questions, (said he when in his prime) are questions of power, not of right." The story is familiar of how he induced his Paris landlord to furnish a bell that was not called for in the lease. On being courteously refused this extra luxury Bismarck bowed and said no more. Every time he wanted his servant from the next room he simply fired his pistol, the handiest substitute for the bell. That French landlord understood Bismarckian diplomacy better than Thiers did, when he vainly tried to get easier terms for France after her defeat.

The Bismarck bull-dog face, toned up with a touch of mastiff dignity, suggests a voice and manner in keeping with this latent ferocity. On the contrary, the prince had the princely gentleness. Massive as was his build, which seemed gigantic because of that powerful countenance, he only stood five feet eleven. We get a look at the Chancellor as he addresses the Reichstag.

"He has to hold his head quite upright owing to the stiff black stock round his neck and the high yellow coat collar outside it. His features look as if they were cast in bronze. His complexion, once fair and smooth, is a deeper color now and his white mustache and long eyebrows stand up stiffer than ever and are very prominent objects. He has greyish blue eyes, and his face is lined with deep wrinkles, which tone down in some degree his fatness. His nose, inclined to be snub, is very well formed and seems smaller than it really is. . . . He listens very quietly while the representatives of the nation are speaking, meantime swallowing enormous quantities of water, with which he mixes a few drops of cognac."

Then his nervous manner when speaking is described, twitching his hands, his mustache, his coat tails like any novice.

"And his voice! By heaven, it astonishes a person who hears it for the first time. One expects to hear a kind of thunder issue from that capacious chest, but instead of that it is a tiny baritone, very agreeable and pleasant to listen to at first, but after a few fits of coughing it gets stronger. Then each word is accompanied by a movement of the body which seems to facilitate its utterance. . . . His speech is clear, with a somewhat antiquated accent, and his final r's are not pronounced strongly. His tone is never solemn, and never pathetic, even when he is deeply moved or when he is talking of his great age, of his Emperor, or of his country."

Your matter-of-fact prosperous drummer is not as a rule given to pathos, except over a lost trade. Here one may quote from another source. Bismarck is enlightening the masses with a bit of plain speech on ornamental speakers.

"With the French, everything lies in a magnificent attitude, a pompous speech, and an impressive theatrical mien. If it only sounds right and looks like something, the meaning is all one. . . . The gift of oratory has ruined much in Parliamentary life. Time is wasted because everyone who feels ability in that line must have his word, even if he has no new point to bring forward. Speaking is too much in the air and too little to the point. . . . Oratory will one day come to be looked upon as a generally harmful quality, and the man will be punished who allows himself to be guilty of a long speech."

Of himself he speaks with Bismarckian modesty thus: "My discourse is simple and clear. . . . A good orator is seldom a statesman."

His brobdnagian sips of brandy-tinted water as an aid to inspiration if not eloquence have been noted. Mynheer Von Dunck, who never got drunk, but whose draughts were as deep as the rolling Zuyder Zee, had a worthy successor in Bismarck. When he was made Honorary Colonel of the Seventh Cuirassiers he was given the monster tankard of champagne which had to be drained by each new officer, to the health of the regiment. They expected it would prove too much for him, but he emptied

it at a single draught, though it held two bottlefuls, and in a few moments coolly asked that his little jug might be refilled. He used to tell how on visiting a famous London brewery, he was offered a large pewter of strong old ale, which he was told distinguished visitors were expected to drink, though very few could stand more than the first draught. Not to be beaten, Bismarck took a long breath, swigged it all at a gulp. "I made my way as quickly as I could to London Bridge and was glad to sit down in the first recess, and then the bridge kept going round and round me for the next hour or two."

His physical courage was equally great in greater predicaments, as when he arrested his would-be assassins. Yet he had his pet superstitions, always so amusing, though puzzling, when found in strong characters, few being wholly free from them. He would have nothing to do with the number thirteen, and many good Americans share the dislike, inconsistently, as it happens to be the grand number in American history, from the thirteen states, and stripes and letters in the national motto, down to details on our coins and some recent occurrences of curious thirteens. Bismarck believed his destiny was ruled by the figure three. He was the third in family, he had three children of his own, was thrice elected to the Landtag, and was thrice an ambassador, he served three Hohenzollern masters, won three victories for them, bore three grades of honor, owned three residences, effected the Triple Alliance, and his crest bears a trefoil, with the motto "Trinity is Strength." He believed these mystic numbers indicated the date of his death, but they do not appear to figure in either that or his birth, in which, being born on April 1, 1815, he smashed the April fool superstition once for all.

His radically simple mind worked along the few main lines of Christian faith with enviable sincerity and—broadly viewed—with a Philistine consistency. There is something grand in this declaration [we quote from another source] made while marching on Paris in 1870 as a conqueror:

"If I were no longer a Christian I would not remain for an hour at my post. Why should I disturb myself and work unceasingly in this world, exposed to all sorts of vexations, if I had not the feeling that I must do my duty for God's sake. If I did not believe in a divine order which has destined this German nation for something good and great, I would at once give up the business of a diplomatist, or I would not have undertaken it. Orders and titles have no charm for me. . . . I owe all the firmness which I have shown for ten years against all possible absurdities only to my decided faith. Take from me this faith and you take from me my Fatherland. . . . How willingly I would be off! I delight in country life, in the woods and in nature. Take from me my relation to God, and I am the man who will pack up and be off to-morrow to Varzin to grow my oats."

From a few of his sayings, so many of which have the crispness of proverbs, we get more side-lights on this extraordinarily strong and simple character. "Fools pretend that you can only gain experience at your own expense, but I have always managed to learn at the expense of others." "The longer I work at politics the less do I believe on human reckoning." "Our German national character wishes always to have the best, and loses thereby the good." "From early life I have been a huntsman and fisherman, and the waiting for the right moment is the rule which I have introduced into politics." "The freedom of the church means the rule of the church." "There is nothing on earth but juggling and hypocrisy." "A certain amount of positive Christianity is necessary for the ordinary man, if he is not to become dangerous to human society. The belief in the revealed word of God is firmer rooted in the people than the belief in the sanctifying power of any particular article of the Constitution."

#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*Songs of Destiny, and Others.* By JULIA P. DABNEY. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

In the unlovely popular view poetry is undoubtedly overdone. All can raise the flower now, for all have got the seed. Tennyson's wail is justified more and more every year, but where is the remedy to come from? Buyers or no buyers, the unknown singers keep on showering their books upon an indifferent public. It is hard, very hard, to pass judgment on excellent work, such as this tastefully made book contains, that shall do even justice between author and reader without seeming to be unsympathetic. The four opening poems show a high order of poetic ability, a musical flow and a usually correct ear, though



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"law" and "shore" should not counterfeit rhyme. The message, for all serious minor verse poses as having a message, is neither a new one nor newly shaped. Much in the thought and expression suggests *In Memoriam*, with its cheering reliance on "the larger hope." The poem, "Destiny," the fourth of the group, is in the measure of Longfellow's "Resignation," it begins "There is no death," and repeats it several times, at last in capitals, but with full recognition of the poem's lofty sweep and style, it only sends us back to Longfellow's simpler, but exquisite and more satisfying piece. If poems are for helpfulness, even the finest literary flights must bear this humble kind of criticism from the public at large, the last court of appeal. Among the miscellaneous pieces are not a few that, fifty years ago, would have found their way into the anthologies, but this is true of hundreds by unknown writers. Neither author nor publisher owes any apology for adding this volume to the mountain pile of the great unread, and as things now are in the poetic realm, very many true poets must find what comfort they can in the companionship of other good folk, like them, "born to blush unseen, and waste their sweetness on the dust-choked air."

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*Rose Á Charlette. An Acadien Romance.* By MARSHALL SAUNDERS. Illustrated. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.

The author's name has a masculine sound, but it denotes a lady, and one who has won a considerable audience by other efforts in fiction. She dedicates this book to Professor T. H. Rand, of McMaster University, Toronto, first as being her father's friend, and next, as "the warm friend and helper of the Acadians while administering the Public Systems of Education in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick." Here is guarantee of sound knowledge of the essentials and a literary style, but the reader discovers a charm in the telling of people and life in scenes unlike those we most read of in novels. This Acadie was the country of Evangeline. It is pictured as only one familiar with it could draw it, and as the plot is good, the book will find a hearty welcome.

### ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

One of the Sunday papers gives the portraits and sketches of a dozen American authors who have settled in London. It seems more of a pillory than a mark of honor, judging by the sneering tone of the remarks. Superficially, there is an unpatriotic look about this self-expatriation; but is it self-expatriation? Unfortunately, book writers must get food if they want to live this common life, to say nothing of extending it into literary immortality. How if these American authors are denied that food by their fellow-countrymen? This is precisely the thing to be settled before we can blame or praise either party in the premises. Put it that these men produce books which, in the English market, bring them a livelihood. If these same books lie unsold in American book stores, where lies the unpatriotism? As a fact, these writers find that their wares rise in value through being issued, or penned, abroad. Whether they are men of genius or not—and perhaps they are not—there lurks a reproach somewhere in the fact that American authors can get a better living abroad than at home.

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There is no perceptible sign of a war literature, unless of a technical kind. Even the epistles of war correspondents, including Davis's promised *History from First to Last*, are unlikely to be bound up, or bought if they are. The latter book, or the rash promise of it, binds the would-be author to insure his life for say a century more, as the last of the war is not yet in sight. What would make a popular book are the genuine unstudied letters of private soldiers to their people at home. A selection might be made, with much painstaking, that would throw a truer light on the actual woes of soldier-life than any formal book yet written. And as officials and generals are already in for many a thrashing in print it would help to clear the air if the candid and fearless criticisms of the rank and file were carefully arranged for reference, as a guide for coming reforms.

\*\*\*

Speaking of critics and criticism, how would the French system work with us? The French Government passed a law some time ago providing that any author whose toes were trodden upon by a criticism should have the privilege of compelling the offending periodical to publish his answer at any length he pleased. A playwright, whose work had been disrespectfully

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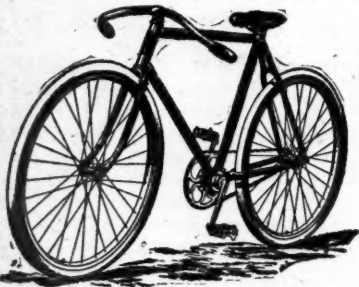


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handled by the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, industriously prepared a reply, in which he embodied the greater part of his play. It would have filled almost an entire number of the magazine, and M. Brunetiere refused to publish it. The case was carried from court to court, and the final decision is in favor of the author. The outcome of this case is that the literary publications of France will probably adopt the rule that no reference shall be made to any book or play sent for review, unless accompanied by a signed waiver of all rights under the law.

\*\*\*

To what base uses books may come at last. The remark is too trite to be worth much, and it may not fit the present case, but it gives the book-lover a pang to learn that the whole library of the officers and crew of the *Texas* was pitched into Santiago harbor when the signal gave the order for battle. Five hundred books, or thereabouts, seems as to bulk and weight the merest trifle in so vast a machine. Ballast is always needed even in the hottest fight, but what do we landlubbers know of ship reasonings? What true born Jack tar would fling such precious things as bales of plug, old rope or a doubtful gun, while a pile of mere books was at hand? Then, some of them may have been poor ones, or bad.

\*\*\*

The line dividing advertising books from art works grows narrower every year. The railway people have jumped right over it in their really enjoyable productions, in which the descriptive reading equals the first-rate illustrations. The Chicago and Northwestern Railway Co. sends a highly artistic pamphlet showing how perfect everything is on their system, from the arrangement of journeys to the equipment of the cars. The pictures show luxurious saloons which seem to belong to the great ocean liners rather than to cars. The "pioneer line" west of Chicago fully holds its own against the other trunk lines in these respects.

\*\*\*

A decree has been made by a self-appointed committee of experts who have been investigating the quality—or rather the lack of it—in paper. They say that paper for books should contain not less than seventy per cent. of rag. When it was agreed to print their report in this quality of paper they found that none so good could be bought. It had to be specially made. Anyone can pick up books of the highest literary value printed on paper of which not five per cent. is rag. We boast of the progress of culture, as indicated by cheap books. Take away the wood pulp processes and book-owners would become as select a class as they were in our grandfathers' days.

\*\*\*

A book that will bear re-reading is de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. The Century Co. are to issue it soon, with the only portrait of the author approved by his family, and an introduction by President Gilman, of the Johns Hopkins University, which will probably be a valuable addition.

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The New York *Tribune* states that Richard Le Gallienne, the very minor London poetaster, has not found the foothold in this country, he came to secure. It is rumored that he intends to resign his professorship of literature and go back to London, in which intention, says the *Tribune*, he is no doubt wise.

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